

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 ISLAMA 10053 201511Z

46

ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 NEAE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00

USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

ACDA-19 IO-14 AID-20 OMB-01 DRC-01 /155 W

----- 040350

O R 201300Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2156

AMEMBASSY KABUL NIACT IMMEDIATE

INFO AMCONSUL KARACHI

AMCONSUL LAHORE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

CINCPAC

S E C R E T ISLAMABAD 10053

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, AF, PK

SUBJ: PAK-AFGHAN RELATIONS: COMMENT ON KABUL CONCERN OVER
BHUTTO'S RECENT STATEMENTS

REF: KABUL 7984 (NOTAL), ISLAMABAD 9076

SUMMARY. GOP AND GOA BOTH APPEAR TO HAVE INDULGED IN
EXCESSES OF WORDS AND STYLE IN THEIR CURRENT CONFRONTA-
TION. BUT CENTRAL FACT IS GOA'S FAILURE TO RECOGNIZE
PAKISTAN'S SOVEREIGNTY OVER ITS WESTERN REGIONS, AND
AS LONG AS GOA PRESSES THAT POINT THERE IS BOUND TO
BE SHARP REACTION FROM GOP. WHILE WE CAN PROBABLY
HAVE ONLY LIMITED INFLUENCE, OUR EMBASSIES IN ISLAMABAD
AND KABUL SHOULD SUPPORT EACH OTHER'S EFFORTS TO GET
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 ISLAMA 10053 201511Z

THE TWO GOVERNMENTS TO KEEP THE LID ON. END SUMMARY.

1. WE HAVE SENT THREE PREVIOUS TELEGRAMS TODAY REPORTING ON MY CONVERSTATION WITH MINSTATE AZIZ AHMED AND OTHER ASPECTS OF CURRENT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GOP AND GOA (ISLAMABAD 10025, 10038 AND 10048). THIS MESSAGE REVIEWS SOME POINTS WHICH IT IS PERTINENT FOR US TO KEEP IN MIND AS WE DEAL WITH CONTINUING PAK AND AFGHAN REMONSTRANCES TO US; IT ALSO COMMENTS ON SOME POINTS IN KABUL REFTEL.

2. I HAVE REREAD ISLAMABAD 9076, SENT A MONTH AGO, WHICH COMMENTED AT SOME LENGTH ON THE CURRENT PAK-AFGHAN PROBLEM AS SEEN FROM HERE. AT RISK OF BEING ACCUSED OF NOT HAVING LEARNED ANYTHING DURING PAST MONTH, I HAVE TO SAY I CONSIDER POINTS MADE IN ISLAMABAD 9076 AS STILL VALID. I SUGGEST THAT MESSAGE BE RESURRECTED FROM FILES AND REREAD. EVENTS OF PAST MONTH DO NOT INVALIDATE OUR PREVIOUS COMMENTS BUT SEEN RATHER TO GIVE THEM GREATER PERTINENCE.

3. THE CENTRAL FACT IN CURRENT DISPUTE SEEMS TO BE GOA'S REFUSAL TO ACCEPT VALIDITY OF GENERALLY RECOGNIZED INTERNATIONAL BORDER BETWEEN AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN AND ITS INSISTENCE ON RIGHT TO HAVE A SUBSTANTIAL SAY ON WHAT GOES ON IN WHAT KABUL REFERS TO AS "OCCUPIED PUSHTUNISTAN" (OR PUKHTUNISTAN). THIS ISSUE HAD LAIN RELATIVELY QUIESCENT FOR PERHAPS A DECADE UNTIL IT WAS RESURRECTED WITH SOME VIGOR BY DAOUD GOVERNMENT WHEN IT CAME TO POWER LAST JULY. IF IT IS INDEED TRUE, AS KAUBL REFTEL SUGGESTS, THAT AFGHANS ARE NOW GENUINELY ANXIOUS TO AVOID CONFRONTATION WITH PAKISTAN (EVEN IF ONLY "AT THIS TIME"), THAT IS GOOD NEWS. AS WE HAVE SAID IN PREVIOUS MESSAGES, WE CONSIDER GOP RIPOSTES TO GOA -- AND THAT DEFINITELY INCLUDES BHUTTO'S STATEMENTS LAST WEEK IN NWFP -- CONSTITUTE REACTIONS RATHER THAN NEW INITIATIVES. GOP HAS DOUBTLESS INTENDED TO MAKE CLEAR TO GOA THAT IT WILL RESIST FIRMLY ANY CONTINUATION OF KABUL EFFORTS TO STIR UP TRIBES WITHIN PAKISTAN AND TO SUPPORT ANY MOVES TO BREAK NWFP (AND ALSO BALUCHISTAN) AWAY FROM PAKISTAN. KABUL MAY THINK SUCH GOP ACTION IS PROVOCATIVE, BUT
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 ISLAMA 10053 201511Z

IT MAY HAVE TO FACE FACTS.

4. I DO NOT WISH CONVEY IMPRESSION, BY POINTS MADE ABOVE, THAT GOP IS BLAMELESS. I BELIEVE BHUTTO HAS PROBABLY ERRED IN PURSUING A POLICY WITHIN HIS OWN COUNTRY OF POLITICAL CONFRONTATION WITH NATIONAL AWAMI PARTY IN BOTH NWFP AND BALUCHISTAN PROVINCES. I THINK PAKISTAN WOULD PROBABLY BE BETTER OFF IN LONGER RUN IF BHUTTO WERE

BETTER ABLE TO TOLERATE AN ARTICULATE OPPOSITION. THESE
POINTS HAVE BEEN MADE IN PREVIOUS ASSESSMENTS SUBMITTED

BY THIS EMBASSY. NOR DO I INTEND TO ENDORSE SPECIFIC
CONTENT OR TONE OF EACH OF BHUTTO'S STATEMENTS AND
ACTIONS IN SPHERE OF PAK-AFGHAN RELATIONS DURING RECENT
MONTHS. WE HAVE TO ACCEPT LIMITATIONS ON OUR ABILITY
TO INFLUENCE DECISIONS HERE ON MATTERS THAT GOP CONSIDERS
TO BE IN ITS VITAL INTEREST: OPPOSITION TO AFGHANISTAN'S
PRETENSIONS ON "PUSHTUNISTAN" IS ONE SUCH ISSUE. AS DEPART-
MENT AWARE, I HAVE NEVERTHELESS URGED RESTRAINT INHCDP #
ON NUMBER OF OCCASIONS IN PAST MONTHS.

5. I SUSPECT WE ARE FACED BY SIMILAR LIMITATIONS ON
OUR INFLUENCE IN OUR RELATIONS WITH GOA. BUT DOES IT
HELP IF GOA IS IN ANY DOUBT OVER OUR RECOGNITION
OF THE INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTED BOUNDARY BETWEEN PAKISTAN
AND AFGHANISTAN? BEYOND THAT, I READILY ACCEPT POINT
IN KABUL REFTTEL THAT GOA IS PROUD AND SENSITIVE IN ITS
REACTION TO REMARKS SUCH AS BHUTTO WAS SAID (PERHAPS WITH LESS
THAN FULL ACCURACY) TO HAVE UTTERED LAST WEEK. I DO NOT KNOW HOW
ONE GOES ABOUT MEASURING THE COMPARATIVE PRIDE AND SENSITIVITY
OF GOVERNMENTS, BUT GOA SHOULD BE AWARE THAT GOP, TOO, IS
PROUD AND SENSITIVE ON ISSUES SUCH AS AFGHANISTAN'S
POSITION ON PUSHTUNISTAN.

6. THE PROBLEM IS MOST PROBABLY NOT SOLUBLE BY
OUTSIDERS. MEAMWHILE, WE HAVE A CONTINUING INTEREST
IN THE PEACE AND STABILITY OF THIS REGION. WE THUS
OUGHT TO CONTINUE TO DO WHAT WE CAN, WHEN OCCASION
ARISES, TO ENCOURAGE BOTH PARTIES TO EXERCISE RESTRAINT.
I HOPE THAT OUR EMBASSIES IN ISLAMABAD AND KABUL WILL
CONTINUE THEIR FRANK EXCHANGES AND SUPPORT EACH OTHER'S
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 ISLAMA 10053 201511Z

EFFORTS TO GET PAKISTAN AND AFGHANISTAN TO KEEP THE
LID ON.
SOBER

NOTE BY OC/T: PARA 4 LINE 16 #AS RECEIVED, WILL BE SERVICED UPON
REQUEST

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: INTERVENTION, BOUNDARY CLAIMS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, PUSHTUNISTAN, RECOGNIZED BOUNDARIES, HEAD OF GOVERNMENT VISITS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 20 NOV 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: morefirh
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973ISLAMA10053
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: ISLAMABAD
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731123/aaaaaqss.tel
Line Count: 159
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: KABUL 7984 (NOTAL), ISLAMABAD 9076
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: morefirh
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 12 DEC 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <12-Dec-2001 by kelleyw0>; APPROVED <02-Jan-2002 by morefirh>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PAK-AFGHAN RELATIONS: COMMENT ON KABUL CONCERN OVER BHUTTO'S RECENT STATEMENTS
TAGS: PINT, PFOR, AF, PK
To: STATE KABUL
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005